1: Rattray E. G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
NAMNAM

XXXVIII

THE NAMNAM

History, Tribal and Clan Organization

101 161 131 THE Namnam (*Anglice* Nabdams) are a tribe numbering 8,063. They inhabit the triangular strip of country bounded on the east by the Red Volta; the Talense lie to the south, the Nankanse on the west. They are among the smallest of the Northern Territory tribes. The people call themselves Namnam (sing. Nabt), the language Nabte, and their country Nabrug. The Namnam call the Kasena, Yuls, and the Nankanse, Gurse; the Kanjagas, Bulse, and the Mampruse and Dagomba, Dagbwan. Specimens of the Nabte language have been given in Chapter III.

103 173 167 563 622 793 The capital town (*teŋa*) of the head Chief is Nangoot (*Anglice* Nangode). The following history was given me by the head Chief: 'Our first ancestors were called *Loro* and *Zan*. *Zan* is the name of a tree which was this ancestor's *segere*. There was a quarrel about the Chieftainship at Naleruk (Naleregu, near Gambaga) and these ancestors of ours, who were full brothers, left Gambaga and first settled near a place called Gos, in the Kusase country. There was nothing but thorn scrub there, so the place was named Namgoel, "the Chieftainship of thorns". We quarrelled with the Kusase and came here and gave the place its name. When we came here, we found a people who had not any Chiefs, only *Ten'danam* (*Ten'dama*). They spoke the language now called Nabte. Our people followed *Loro*, and *Zan* became the first Chief. He died and is buried here. The people whom we overtook here, we called Namnam. We became their Chiefs. [421] We own the people, the *Ten'danam* own the land. The present *Ten'dan'* is called Biriwanab, his grove (*tengwan*) is known as Dakyirig. The *Ten'dan'* makes sacrifices to the land. *Ten'danam* are like your European doctors. *Zan* was succeeded by *Dyeten*. I think he was *Zan's* son, but it is a long time ago. Each Chief when he dies has a stone which is [778] bathed, rubbed over with shea butter, and kept in the compound of the new Chief in a room. These stones are called *kpwim kuga* (spirit-stones). A sacrifice is made once a year to them. *Dyeten* was succeeded by *Pubuge*. During his time, we heard that the black gun-men (Ashanti?) came with war and reached Akorog (lit. the River). We met them with arrows and had many men taken captive.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
FE11 Tallensi FE11
Kusase

XXXIX

THE KUSASE

Tribal and Clan Organization. The Tenedan'

THE Kusase are a large tribe, numbering over 40,000, which inhabits the extreme north-eastern corner of the Northern Territories. They also extend across the border into the mandated territory of Togoland. The people call themselves *Kusase*, singular *Kusa*, and their language *Kusal*.[1] Specimens of this dialect have been given in previous chapters. They do not apply the name Gurense to themselves as do the Nankanse.

Clans: The word used in the vernacular is *budi*. A son acquires the clan of his father. Here, for the first time, we encounter a departure from the more common practice of using the totem name to designate the clan. A Kusa, if asked his clan, will give the name, not of its totem, but of the male ancestor from whom all his fellow-clansmen trace descent. On inquiring further, he will then state what is his clan taboo. This departure from the usual practice will also be noted later on among the Lobi. Here again, we find particular clans grouped in certain towns, town again having the meaning of 'area' or 'settlement' rather than township in the commonly accepted sense. The following table illustrates the above.

Town.	*Clan.*	*Clan Taboo.*
Gagbir.[2]	Zuos.	*Waf tetar* (lit. big snake i.e. python).
Garu.	Nabt.	*Sur.* (The heart of any animal).
Kugri.	Nabt.	*Sur.* (The heart of any animal).
Timpale.	Nabt.	*Tunig* (a kind of fish with sharp teeth).
Pusig.	Zuos.	Python.

The towns of Bindur, Bugur, Zabuk, Timpan, Bawk' also contain a number of Zuos clansmen. Bawk (Bawku)[3] are really Mampruse, not

[1] Kusal is so much like Mole that an officer learned the former language by mistake for the latter and was duly examined by a language board and passed, much to the amusement of critics of the said board. They had, however, every excuse for doing so, the laugh really being against those who, because these languages had different names, thought they were not related. Curiously enough, however, Kusase and Moshi do not intermarry (see p. 390).

[2] *Anglice* Kagbiri.

[3] The *Tenedan'* is, however, a Zuos.

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932

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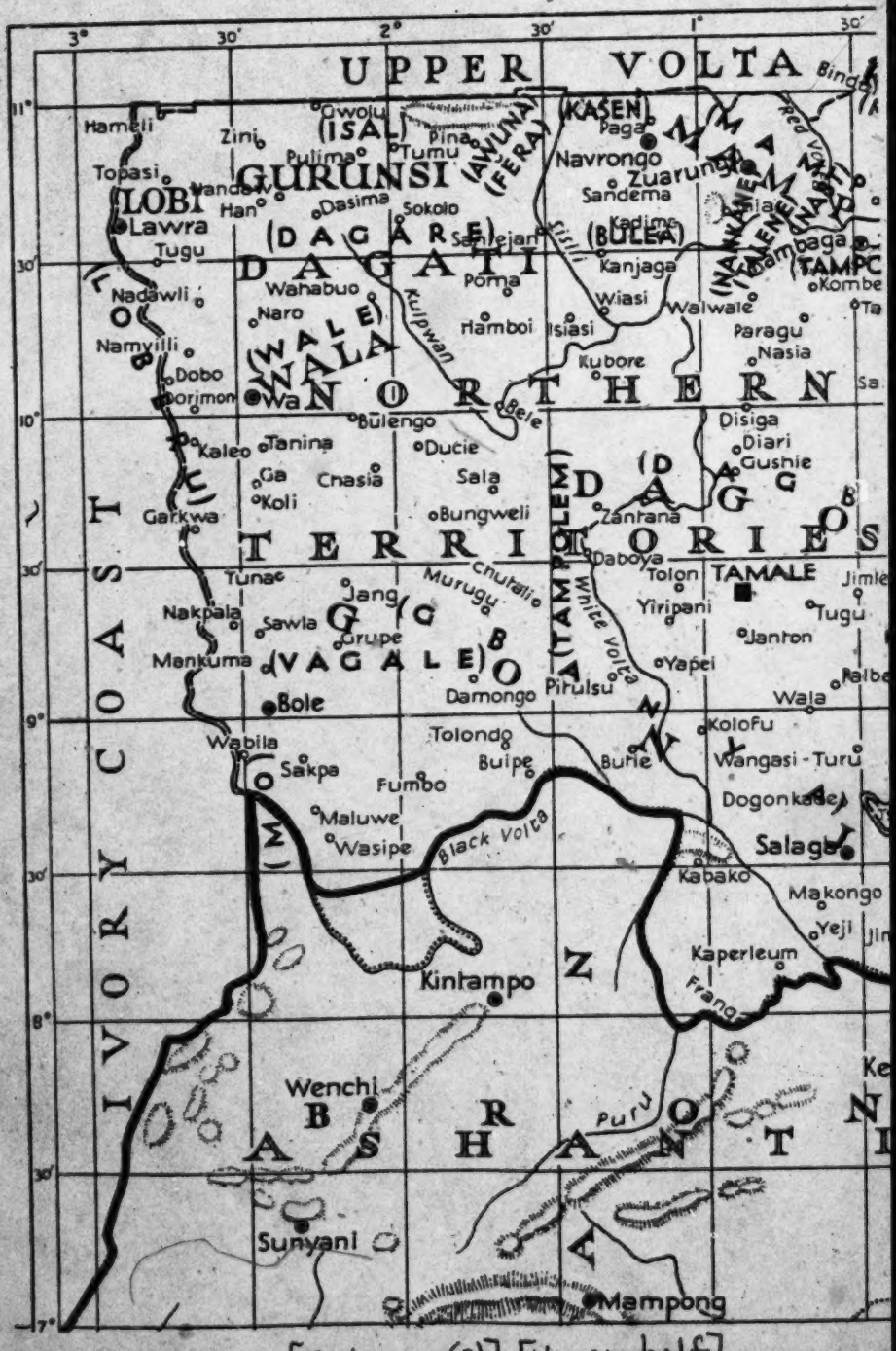

[End MAP (A)] [Upper half]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932

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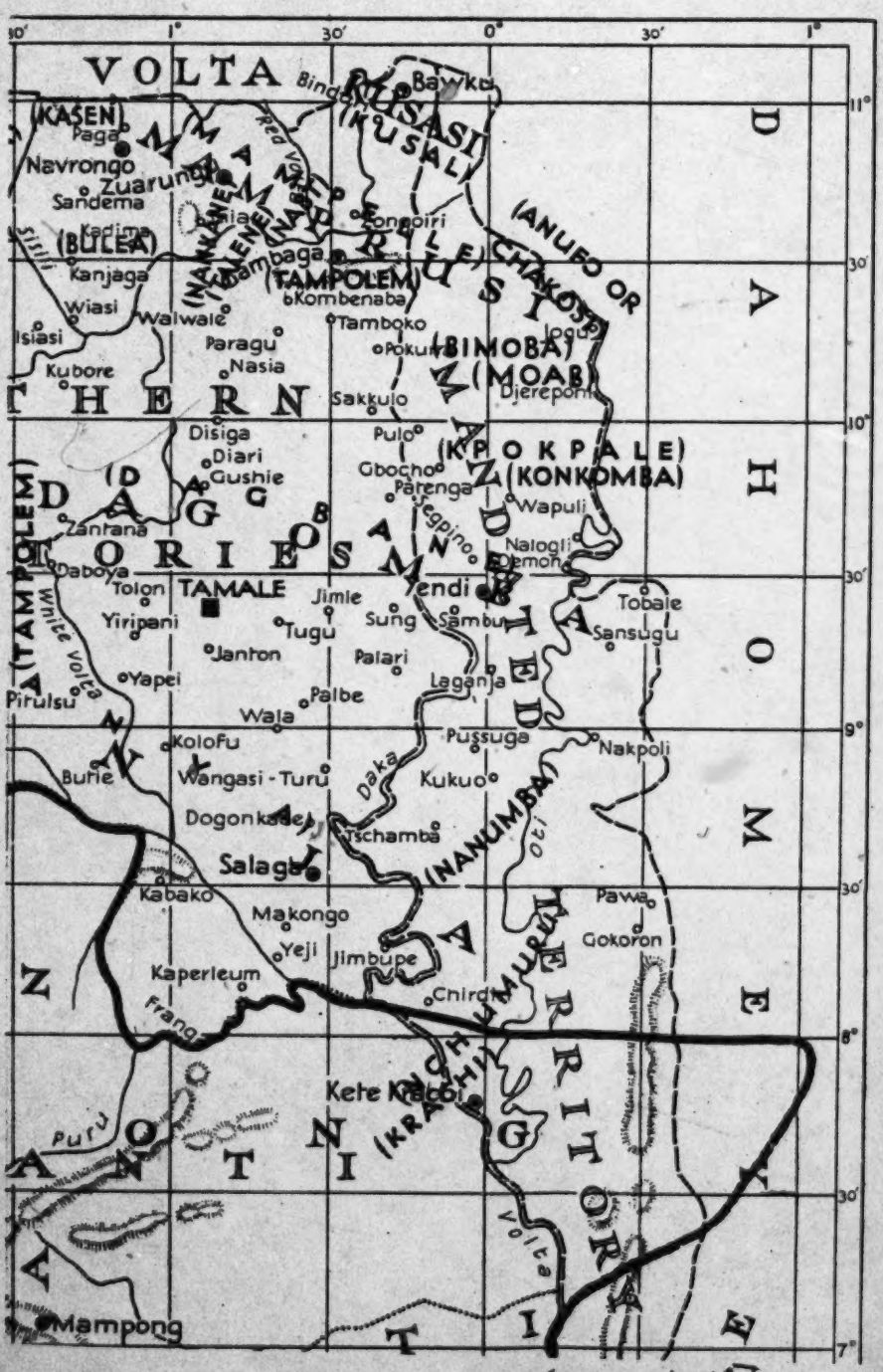

[End map (B)] [Upper half]

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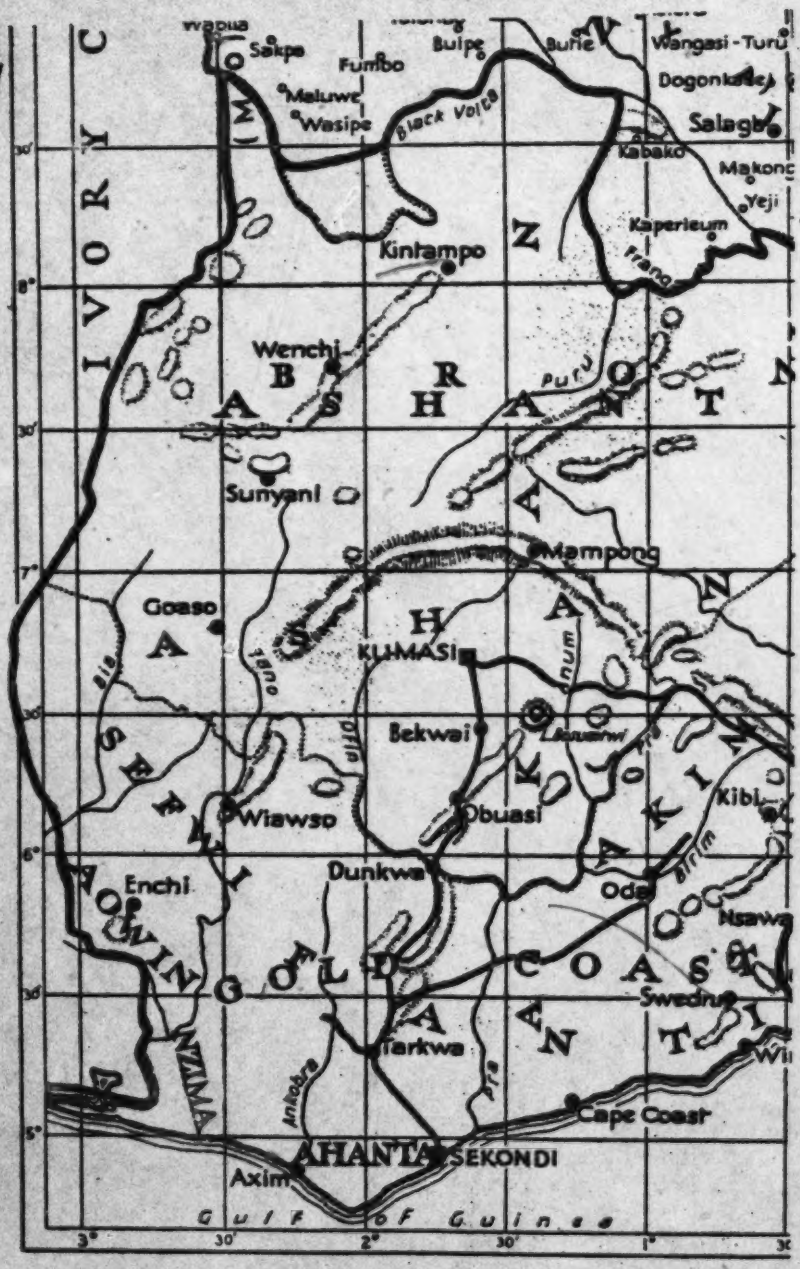

TRIBAL AND LINGUISTIC MAP OF THE GO

The names within brackets, thus, (BULEA), are those by which the langu
them. They have been superimposed upon the official map published by the
indicating 'AKAN and RELATED DIALECTS', is here reproduced as shown on the ori
our fuller knowledge, be extended to embrace GRANT

[End Map (C) Lower half]

1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920) 1932

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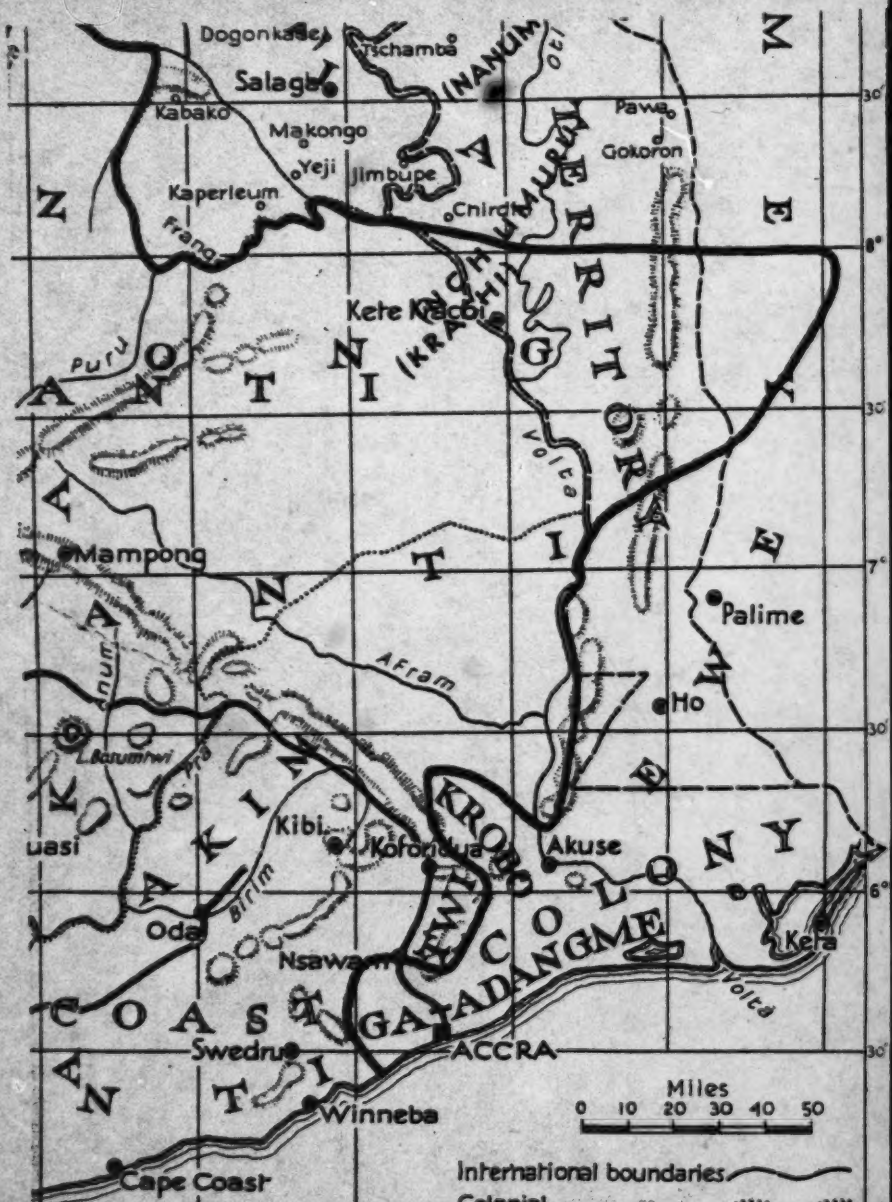

ISTIC MAP OF THE GOLD COAST COLONY

), are those by which the languages are known to the tribes which speak
the official map published by the Survey H. Q. Accra 1927. The red line,
re reproduced as shown on the original map, but it might now, in the light of
, be extended to embrace GBANYA and CHAKOSI.

[End MAP (D) Lower Half

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTORY

The Natural Environment of the Tallensi

THE Northern Territories of the Gold Coast lie entirely within the Sudanese Zone.[1] It has been variously described as 'parkland', 'savannah', or 'orchard bush' country, terms which indicate the sparse and uniform forestation characteristic of this zone. Stretching irregularly and almost right across Africa, between the eighth and the sixteenth parallels N. latitude, it merges into the Sahara on the north and is bounded by the tropical rain forest on the south.

The traveller in West Africa who enters this region from the south is impressed by the contrast with the forest belt. According to his predilections he will view it with pleasure or dismay after the massive and gigantic gloom of the forest. Here are no great trees a hundred or two hundred feet high rooted amid thick undergrowth and enveloped in tenacious creepers. The orchard bush country is a vast plain, in some parts monotonously flat, in others gently undulating and diversified by an occasional range of hills or a steep scarp. The tracts of bush, sometimes fairly extensive, which may be encountered in the less populated areas, resemble the secondary forestation of abandoned cultivations in the rain forest. Scattered trees, no larger than our oaks and beeches, man-high grass, and scrub constitute these patches of standing bush. In the dry season the landscape appears harsh and bare, and its general drab hue is hardly relieved by the shade trees in front of the native homesteads or the remnants of vegetation along the dry watercourses. The mud walls and thatched roofs of the homesteads seem to blend indistinguishably with the dusty country-side. In the middle of the wet season, when every footpath becomes a rivulet and every depression a bog, the homesteads are hidden behind ramparts of luxuriant grain, and the whole country-side is resplendent with the green of flourishing vegetation.

The climate of the Sudanese Zone exhibits two clearly defined seasons, a dry season lasting about half the year (October to March) and a wet season lasting the remaining six or seven months (April to October). Not only are there marked variations in the mean rainfall from one area

[1] For a short account of the principal ecological and climatic features of the part of the Sudanese Zone that concerns us in this book, see Lynn, C. W., *Agriculture in North Mamprussi*, Bulletin No. 34 of the Gold Coast Department of Agriculture, 1937. Climate and vegetation are more fully discussed in Bégué, L., *Contribution à l'Étude de la Végétation Forestière de la Haute Côte d'Ivoire*, Publications du Comité d'Études Historiques et Scientifiques de l'Afrique Occidentale Française, 1937. These writers give lists of the common trees of economic value found in our area, of which the following are the best known and most frequently seen in inhabited places: Shea (*Butyrospermum parkii*); locust bean (*Parkia filicoidea*); baobab (*Adansonia digitata*); various species of acacia; the silk cotton (*Ceiba pentendra*); the tamarind (*Tamarindus indica*).

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

to another, ranging from 25 inches to 45 inches per annum, but fluctuations occur from year to year in the same area. Erratic or abnormal rains may so disturb the cycle of food production as to subject a majority of the population to severe privation. The temperature in the vicinity of 10° 30′ N. latitude and 0° 30′ W. longitude varies from a minimum of about 70° F. to a maximum of about 93° F. A characteristic feature of the dry season is the harmattan, a hot parching wind laden with fine dust which blows from the Sahara, so strongly at times as to obscure the landscape in a haze which limits visibility to a few hundred yards. Heavy dew and mists cause the mornings to be chilly and bracing, so much so that the natives squat shivering round fires or remain indoors until the sun is high; from the forenoon until about 4 p.m. the sun blazes relentlessly through the faint haze; sunset ushers in a cool and balmy evening; and night brings a relatively marked drop in temperature. Violent nocturnal tornadoes from the east and north-east, accompanied by lightning and thunder, introduce the rainy season, during which the prevailing wind blows from the direction of the Gulf of Guinea, to the south and south-east. During this season the temperature remains fairly stable throughout the day. Though it is never as hot as in the hottest days of the dry season, the humidity makes it at times excessively oppressive. The peak of the rains comes in August–September. It rains so heavily then that many social activities are impeded. These conditions of vegetation and climate fundamentally influence the economy and the social life of the inhabitants of the Sudanese Zone.

This book is concerned with the population of a very small section of the Sudanese Zone, a part of the region drained by the Volta river system. The head-waters of this system lie in French West Africa. About 20 miles south of the international boundary between the Gold Coast and French Ivory Coast, which has been arbitrarily fixed to coincide approximately with the eleventh parallel N. latitude, the Red Volta flows into the White Volta. Between these two rivers, on the east and south respectively, and the Sissili river on the west lies an area, arbitrarily truncated on the north by the international boundary, comprising two of the most heavily populated administrative districts of the Gold Coast. The eastern third of this area constitutes the administrative district of Zuarungu, the remaining two-thirds the district of Navrongo. The Red Volta separates Zuarungu district from another administrative unit, Kusasi, and the White Volta forms a natural boundary between it and the Mamprusi district, to the south of which lies the territory of the Dagomba.

As the following table[1] from the census of 1931 shows, the Zuarungu district is the most densely populated part of this area; and as the population tends to be concentrated in the centre and north, the actual density of settlement exceeds the figures given. In some localities this is reflected

[1] See *Appendices containing Comparative Returns and General Statistics of the 1931 Census*, Gold Coast, 1932, p. 3; and Cardinall, A. W., *The Gold Coast*, 1931, Population Map, p. 156. Mr. Cardinall remarks (p. 123) that 'A majority of the census officers were of opinion that the figures collected by them are lower than they should have been by from 2 per cent. to 10 per cent.'—a contingency inevitable in a country which is for the most part still pre-literate.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

in serious soil erosion due to over-cultivation and in the diminution of uncultivated bush land, so that firewood and other sylvan products cannot be found within six or more miles of the settlements.

District	*Area*	*Population*	*Density per sq. mile*
Navrongo . .	1,551	120,870	77·96
Zuarungu . .	781	133,981	171·55
Kusasi* . .	1,227	151,715	123·64
Mamprusi* .	2,719	61,520	22·62
Dagomba* . .	12,257	191,956	15·66

* Partly in Mandated Territory of Togoland.

In spite of the general similarity of climate and vegetation in the Sudanese Zone, local variations produce significant ecological differences. This is shown in the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast by the differences in agriculture north and south of the Gambaga scarp. The steep scarp marks both a geological and an ecological line of division. South of it the rock formations are of sandstone and shale, north of it granite, quartz, and greenstone predominate. South of the scarp a form of shifting cultivation is customary, and yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) are grown on a large scale side by side with millet (*Pennisetum typhoides*, var.), guinea corn (*Sorghum vulgare*), and maize (*Zea mays*). North of it yams will not grow easily and cereal crops form the staple food supply.[1]

The relative scarcity of population in the yam-growing districts compared with the congested areas north of the White Volta may be due to unknown historical and cultural factors, but endemic diseases have undoubtedly impeded population growth. While malaria, yaws, and leprosy, to mention only the commonest enemies of native health, are widespread throughout the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast, sleeping-sickness is also endemic throughout the Mamprusi and Dagomba districts. In the central sectors north of the scarp sleeping-sickness occurs only sporadically near the rivers.

Topographical differences also appear to influence the distribution of population. The high plateau which stretches from the White Volta northwards is more suited for permanent habitation than the low-lying flats which make up the greater part of Mamprusi and Dagomba. In the wet season they turn into quagmires, in the dry season they are arid tracts seriously short of water-supplies. North of the White Volta numerous streams and small rivers combine with the relatively greater elevation to drain the plateau effectively during the heavy rains; and though surface water becomes scarce in the dry season, shallow pits generally provide sufficient water for normal needs.

The district of Zuarungu is a typical portion of the Trans-Volta plateau. A number of bouldery hills from 100 to 500 feet high are scattered over its undulating surface. The most conspicuous are the Tong Hills, a small range stretching for about four miles just north of the river. It adds an

[1] Cf. Fortes, M. and S. L., 'Food in the Domestic Economy of the Tallensi', *Africa*, ix. 2, 1936; and Lynn, C. W., op. cit.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

attractive touch to an otherwise uninspiring landscape. A fringe of uninhabited bush, the home of a fair amount of game, follows the course of the two Voltas. From the Tong Hills the area of close settlement and perennial cultivation spreads out like a fan to the west, north, and east. Generally speaking, settlement is relatively sparse and recent along the periphery of this area, except in the north to north-west segment, and densest and most ancient in the middle.

The Northern Territories of the Gold Coast have been under effective Government control for about twenty-five years. From the first efforts were made to develop modern communications. At the present time a main road, suitable for motor traffic, connects Bawku in Kusaasi district, the northernmost administrative station, with Tamale, the capital of the Northern Territories, 145 miles to the south, and continues from there to Kumasi in Ashanti, another 220 miles. Branches link it with the principal Government stations in the Northern Territories. This road system was maintained, until recently, only for essential services in the wet season, but was always passable in the dry season. In 1936 large-scale works were undertaken to make it a permanent highway. Head carriage and footpaths still remain the only means of local transport and communications. About 50 miles of this road system traverse the Zuarungu district, the administrative head-quarters of which is at Zuarungu (Talni, *Zuwaruŋ*) on the central road.

The people we are concerned with in this book occupy less than half of the Zuarungu district. Their country, which, for convenience of reference may be called Taleland, embraces most of the southern half of the district between the two Voltas and the western boundary. On the north it can be demarcated only by an arbitrary boundary which extends in a wavy line from Zuarungu due east to the river. A typical section of the district, Taleland includes the Tong Hills, the vicinity of which harbours the densest and oldest settlements of the country. Its total population, according to the 1931 census, numbers about 35,000. Nearly a third of it is concentrated within a radius of two or three miles of the Hills. I estimate the total area of Taleland at about 300 square miles, which would imply an average population density of approximately 100 to the square mile, though the actual density of settlement in the inhabited areas must be considerably higher. Thus Taleland is thickly populated, by African standards.

Cultural Affinities of the Tallensi

Delafosse, in his monumental survey[1] of the peoples of the western Sudan, distinguished five 'families' by ethnological and linguistic criteria. His largest division, the Voltaic family, comprises the tribes inhabiting the basin of the Volta rivers, from approximately 9° 30′ to 14° N. latitude.[2] Delafosse subdivides the Voltaic family into seven branches, one of which, the Mossi group, includes all the peoples living between Ouagadougou in the French Upper Ivory Coast and Salaga in the Gold Coast.

More recent research has not invalidated Delafosse's broad classification.

[1] Delafosse, M., *Haut-Sénégal-Niger*, 3 vols., 1912.
[2] Op. cit., i, pp. 115 ff.

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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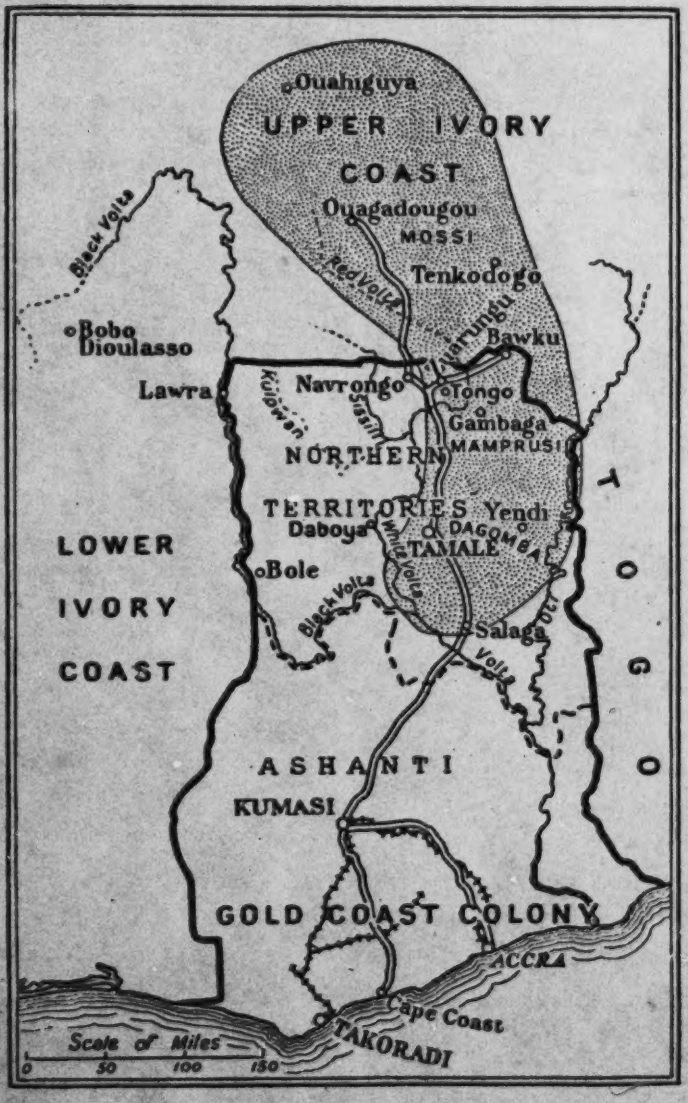

BOUNDARIES OF THE GOLD COAST

The dotted portion shows the area occupied by Mole-Dagbane speaking peoples

[p. 5]

SKETCH-MAP OF TALELAND

Note: All place-names are spelt phonetically according to their Talni form.

[51.15]

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2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
FE11 Tallensi FE11

living at Zoo and Gbambee, though they are an integral part of the community.

Like all Tale settlements Tongo has no fixed territorial boundaries. (See map at end of book.) Its frontiers with the circumjacent settlements take the form of a social circumference, kept in being by local, genealogical, and politico-ritual ties and cleavages. This is the line of ecological and social balance between Tongo and its neighbours, more or less stable now, but still undergoing minor readjustments as this balance changes with alterations in the internal equilibrium of any of these units. It is most stable and firm where the genealogical, political, and ideological cleavages between Tongo and its neighbours are clear-cut and dominant; it is more pervious where Tongo's structural ties with an adjacent clan have greater strength than the cleavages between them. Thus, there is a distinct though sometimes narrow territorial separation between the outermost homesteads of Tongo and those of Wakii, Soog, Gbeog, and Ba'ari. At one point on the west side of Tongo only a stretch of cultivation separates Tongo homesteads from Wakii homesteads a stone's throw away. Tongo homesteads actually lie on the Wakii side of the watercourse which might have formed a natural boundary between them. On the south this watercourse and a straggling outcrop of rocks and boulders hedge in Tongo and mark it off from Wakii. A prominent landmark here is Samoo, a mass of huge rocks overgrown with trees and scrub. It is a sacred spot, the External *Bɔyar* of Soog and Gbeog. North of Samoo lies Tongo, the nearest Tongo homestead being about 50 yards away; south of it are Wakii and Soog. It would be most unlikely for a Tongo man to build his homestead on the south side of Samoo, or for a Soog or Wakii man to live north of it. For Samoo symbolizes all that the Namoos consider alien, hostile, and to some extent repugnant, in the cultural differences and structural cleavages between themselves and the Hill Talis. In olden days the immediate vicinity of Samoo was the no-man's-land where the two groups used to meet in battle.

Soog, Wakii, Gbeog, and Ba'ari, all Talis clans that were among the traditional enemies of Tongo in war, are all demarcated from the latter. On the border between Tongo and each of these clans is a stretch of land, cultivated or uncultivated, but free of homesteads, which is still thought of as the traditional battle-ground of the two groups. It is significant that these battle-grounds are all associated with Earth or *Bɔyar* shrines under the ritual jurisdiction of the Talis clans.

By contrast it is impossible to draw a clear line between the homesteads of Tongo and those of Zubiuŋ or Zoo. They merge completely. This corresponds to the close ties which have always existed between these three units and have enabled them to fuse easily into a single political community under the authority of the Chief of Tongo, since his acquisition of judicial and executive power under British rule.

In the old days Zubiuŋ and Zoo always fought on the side of Tongo against the Hill Talis. Both clans have direct politico-ritual roles in connexion with the Tongo chiefship, and come into its immediate field of influence, whereas the Hill Talis and Ba'ari come into its secondary field of influence. The three clans act as *nasop*-by-courtesy (cf. ch. V) to

2: Fortes

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● 131, 133, 361, 487, 778, 764, 621

[Chart of sections of end-map:

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H

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MAP OF PART OF TON

Conventional Signs

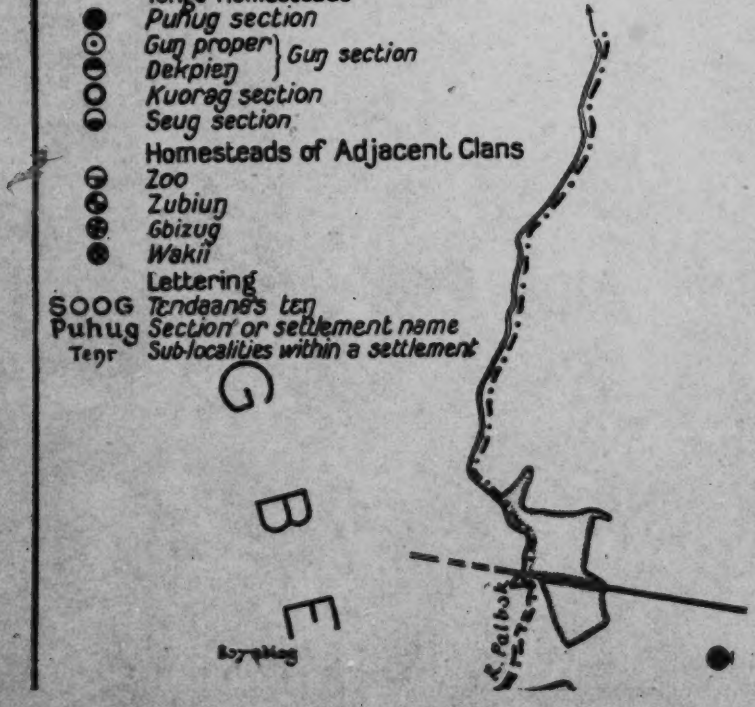
- Government roads (dry season)
- Major footpath
- Minor footpath
- Rainy season stream, dry season ditch
- Rainy season rivulet
- Tendaana's territory (tɛŋ) boundaries
- Farm boundaries
- Swampy patches (rainy season)
- Graves
- Tree
- Sacred Groves
- Water holes

Social Divisions
(each circle is one homestead)

Tongo Homesteads
- Puhug section
- Guŋ proper } Guŋ section
- Dekpieŋ }
- Kuorag section
- Seug section

Homesteads of Adjacent Clans
- Zoo
- Zubiuŋ
- Gbizug
- Wakii

Lettering
- SOOG Tendaana's tɛŋ
- Puhug Section or settlement name
- Tɛŋr Sub-localities within a settlement



[End-map (A)]

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[End-MAP(B)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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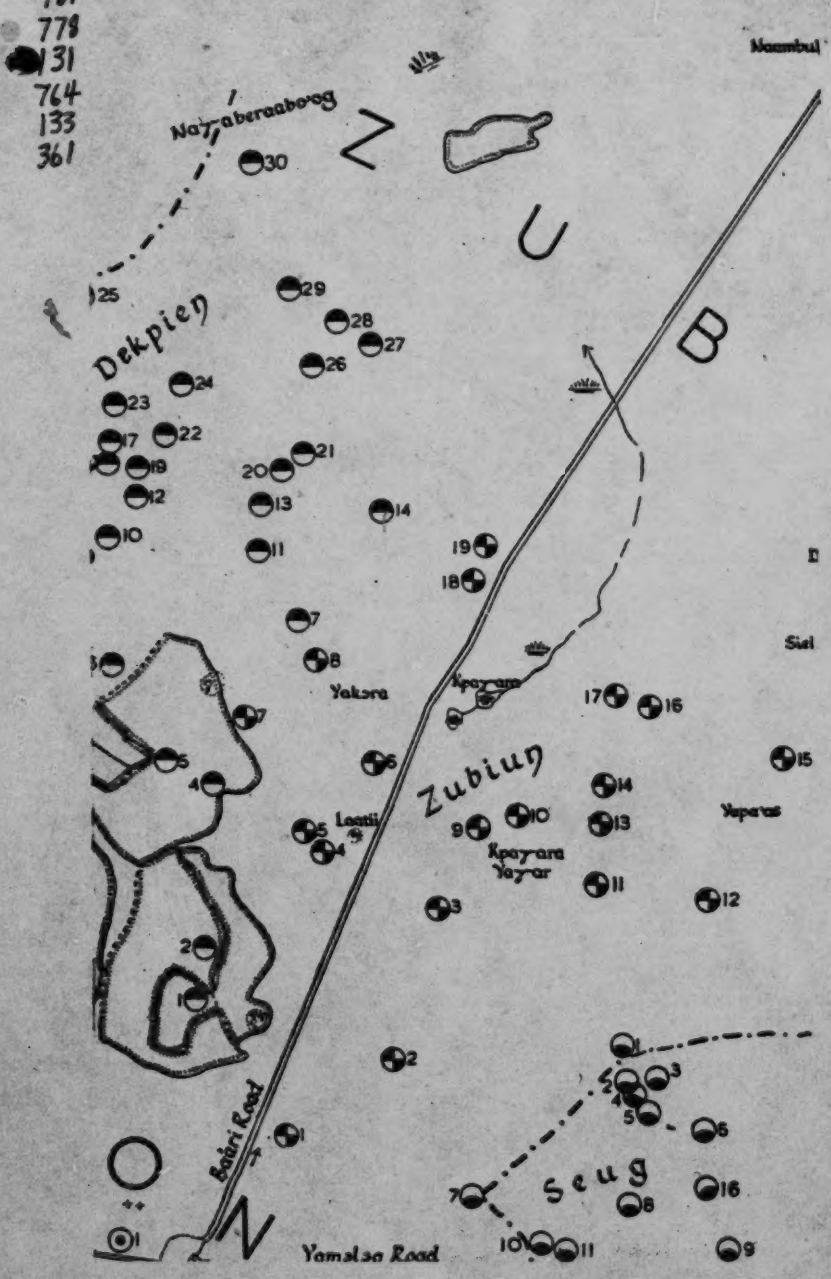

[END-MAP(C)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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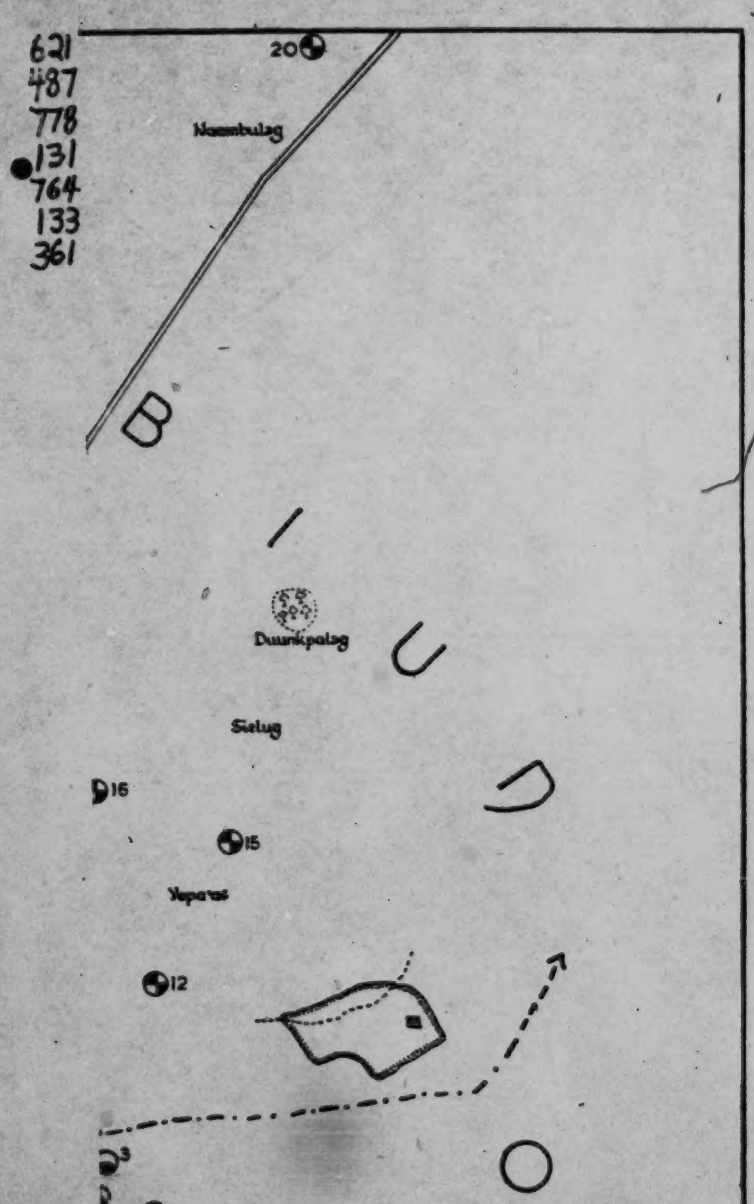

[END-MAP (D)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945

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The map includes the whole territorial extent of Tongo proper (*Tɔŋ-Naŋ*
boundaries. It shows *all* the homesteads of Puhug section and Guŋ proper
homesteads on the outskirts of the other sections (i.e. in Kuorəg, Seug, and
The map also shows *all* the homesteads of Gbiɛug and of the Yakora sec

[End-Map(E)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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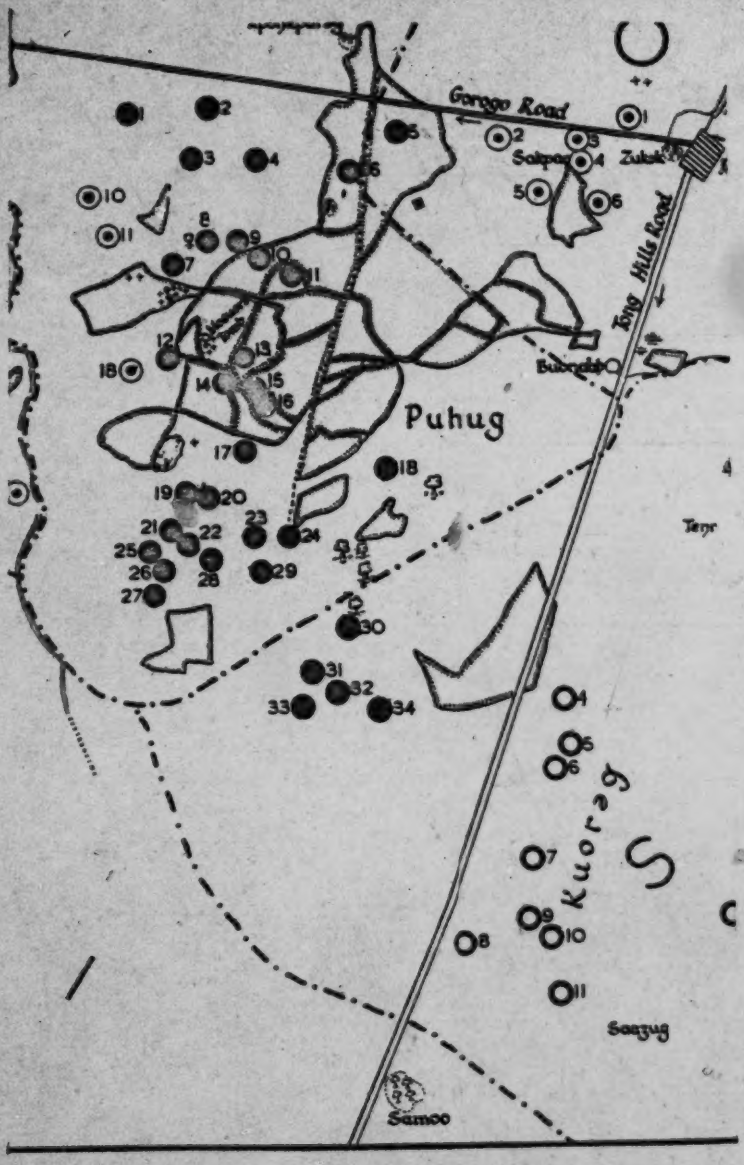

SKETCH MAP OF TONGO AND PARTS OF

o proper (*Tɔŋ-Nayiri*) but not all the homesteads within its social
n and Guŋ proper (*Guŋ* on the map) but leaves out about a dozen
Kuorag, Seug, and Dekpieŋ).
d of the Yakora section of Zubiuŋ. It shows most of the Zubiuŋ-

Kpayan
few Wal
The l
covering

[End-MAP (F)]

2: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1945
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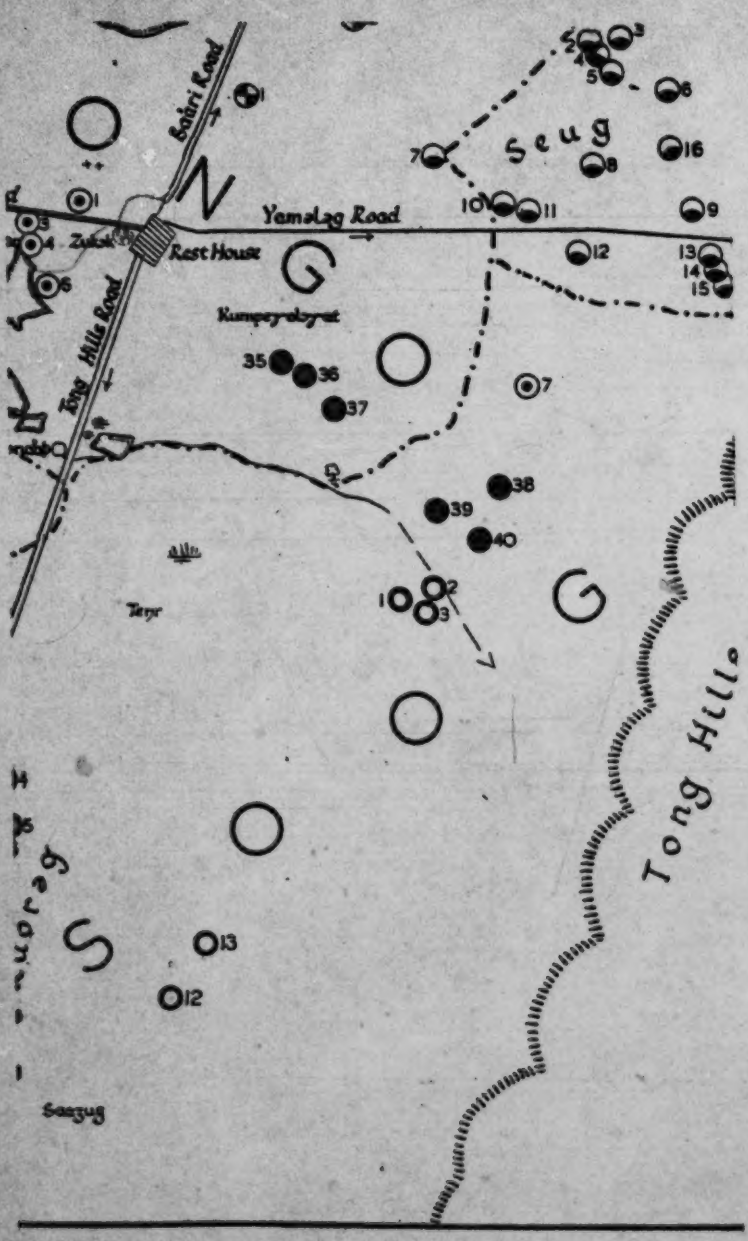
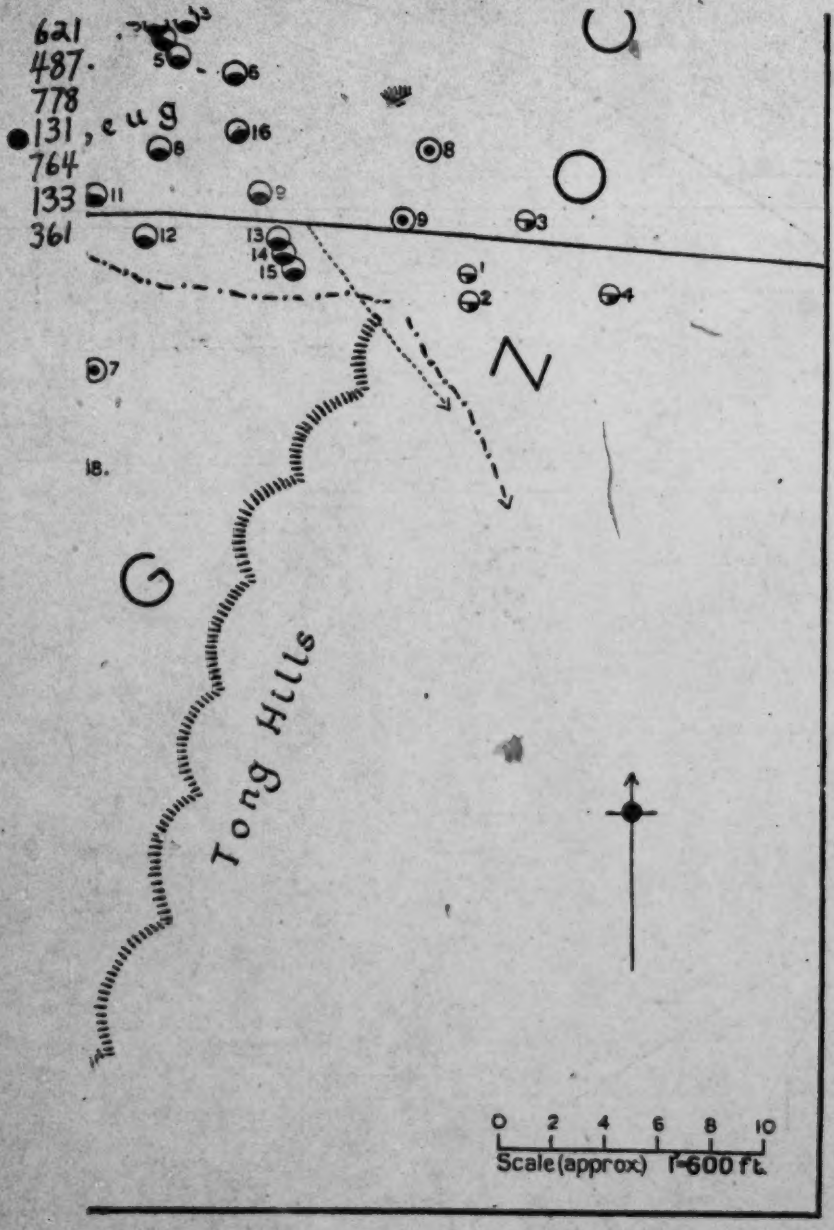


PARTS OF ADJACENT SETTLEMENTS

nal Kpayara yayar homesteads, leaving out two or three on the outskirts,
en few Wakii and Zoo homesteads.

The Farm Boundaries shown indicate the situation of only a small
y- covering the map with crosses, only a few of the founding ancestors' gr

[End-MAP (6)]



TS

three on the outskirts, but no Zubiun-Yapaas homesteads. It shows only a

situation of only a small selection of Tongo home farms. Similarly, to avoid
he founding ancestors' graves have been marked.

[End-MAP (H)]

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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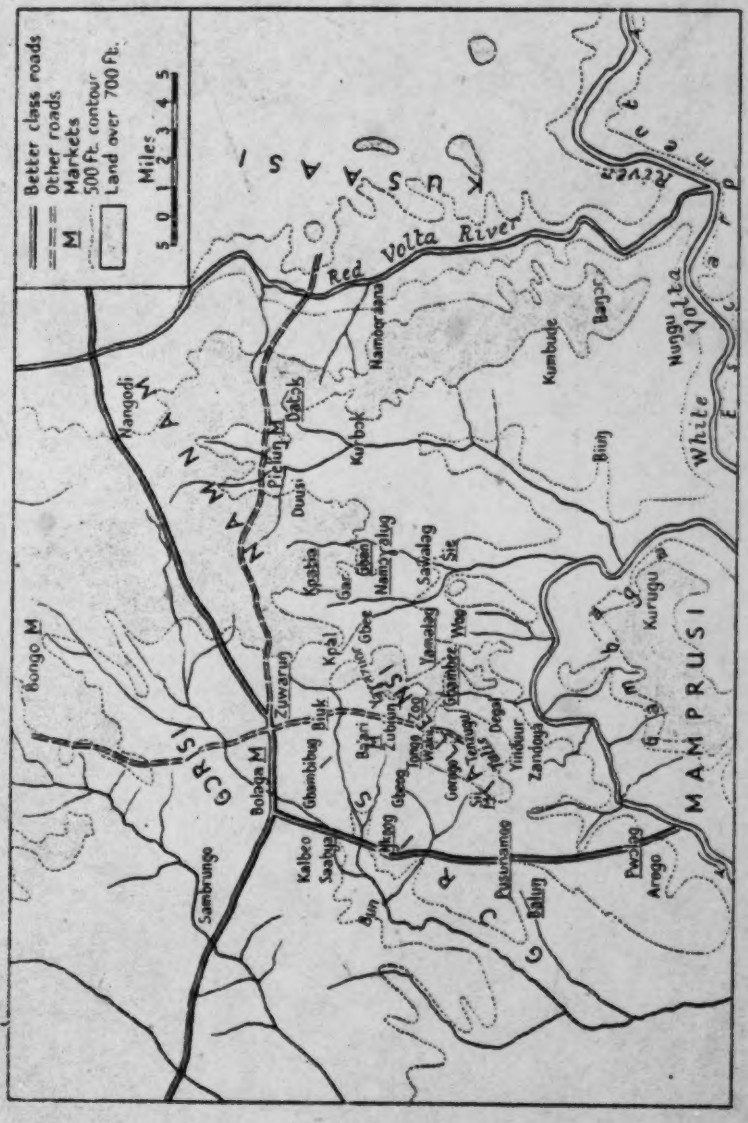

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7:Lynn G-5 (1932-1936) 1937 FE11 Tallensi FE11

121 fully a system of mixed farming suitable for the peculiar conditions obtaining locally. In 1936, the writer visited Northern Nigeria to study the progress made in mixed farming there. A report upon this visit has been published as Bulletin No. 33 of the Department (3).

It is realized that Nigerian experience can serve only as a guide to us here, for whilst environmental conditions are similar, economic conditions differ considerably. The object of this bulletin is to record the results of observations, surveys, and experimental work, as an introduction to the study of mixed farming locally. The survey methods followed have been recorded in the hope that they may be of value when similar work is contemplated in other districts.

Our method of approach to the improvement of local agriculture is by surveys and observations, followed by experiment, demonstration, and extension, in that order. So far, in North Mamprusi, we have reached the stage of experiment and quiet demonstration.

Part I.—STUDY OF INDIGENOUS AGRICULTURE.

Section I.—Introductory Notes upon the District.

128 The farming methods of the primitive tribes inhabiting North Mamprusi are practically unique in the Gold Coast. Before discussing the results of surveys and experimental work it is proposed to outline in this section some of the main features of the district which have a bearing upon local agriculture and which are likely to affect its future development. It is necessary to state that most remarks are based upon experience gained in the Zuarungu and Navrongo Areas; although most of what is said will apply to Kusasi Area, it is probable that greater experience will reveal some differences.

Situation.

131 North Mamprusi is situated in the extreme North East corner of the Northern Territories of the Gold Coast; it lies roughly between 10° 30′ and 11° North latitude and 0° and 1° 30′ West longitude and covers an area of 3,559 square miles. It is bounded on the South by South Mamprusi (Gambaga District), on the West by Lawra-Tumu District, and on the North and East by French West Africa.

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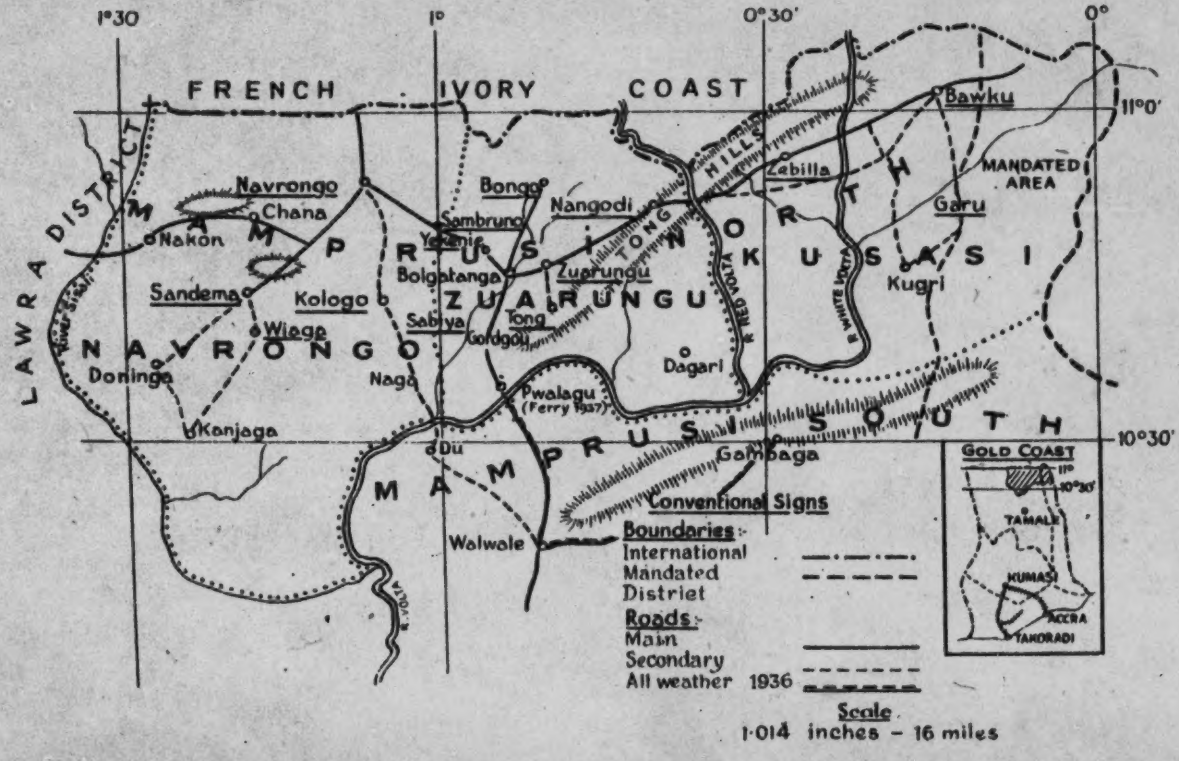
NORTH MAMPRUSI, GOLD COAST.



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Isolation.

An important economic feature of the district is its distance from the coast, 500 miles, and from rail head, 350 miles. This means expensive road transport precluding the possibility of all but local exports with the present prices ruling on the world's markets. The isolation is further emphasised by the fact that the main road to the South is not yet all-weather. Motor traffic is cut off from the end of May until the end of November, when the Volta rivers wash away the temporary dry season drifts.

European Contact.

Contact with Europeans has taken place only comparatively recently, *i.e.*, within about the last forty years, and for some time, soldiers, police, and political officers were the only "white men" known to the people; these were followed by medical and veterinary officers. It was not until 1930 that an agricultural officer visited the district in the growing season, and then only temporarily upon locust control duty. Observations made during this visit are recorded in the Department's Year Book for 1930 (4). In 1932 practically new ground had to be broken, and a natural suspicion, increased by not altogether unfounded rumours of direct taxation, had to be overcome before the people's confidence was obtained. The importance of this confidence for the success of our work requires no stressing.

Climate.

The main climatic feature of the district is a well defined rainy season, lasting from the beginning of April until the middle of November, alternating with an intensely dry season. The mean annual rainfall at Zuarungu is 43.92", at Navrongo 47.83", and at Bawku 41.20". Monthly means are given in Appendix I. The whole of North Mamprusi is included in the Sudanese Climatic Zone (5). Rainbearing winds come from the South East, but tornadoes from the East and North East mark the beginning and the end of the rainy season; then precipitations are very localised. From November until February or March the "harmattan" (5) wind blows with varying severity.

Vegetation—Trees.

The natural vegetation of North Mamprusi is "tree savannah" (6) with fringing forest along the banks of the larger rivers. In the populated parts of the district only trees of economic value,